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BIOGRAPHY

A SKETCH OF THE Life and Public Services OF

HENRY CLAY.

[CONTINUED.]

In the autumn of the year 1831, Mr. Clay was elected, by the Legislature of Kentucky, Senator of the United States from that state, his opponent being Col. R. M. Johnson, who had distinguished himself somewhat by his bitter opposition to the administration of Mr. Adams, and his general approval of the principles and policy which had elected President Jackson. The principle of protection, which Mr. Clay had done so much to establish, and under the operation of which the whole country was now at the height of its glory and industrial prosperity, began to excite the hostility of the southern section. It was a favorite dogma with southern statesmen, that the duties levied upon English manufactured cotton goods tended seriously to injure the production of that great staple at the south. They treated with contempt the proposed creation of a home market for their cotton, and began to regard the American system, as it was most properly called, as a blow directed aimed at southern prosperity. In the debate which ensued upon the revision of the Tariff, all these sectional jealousies were sedulously inflamed, and a strong feeling was aroused throughout the country in favor of a policy known only, on the face of the earth, as an abstraction under the name of Free Trade. A strong party was formed, headed by southern men, whose favorite project was the throwing open all our ports to the goods of foreign nations—imposing only such duties as might provide sufficient revenue to defray the expenses of Government, and regulating these without the slightest discrimination among the articles on which they were to be imposed. Mr. Clay, in one of his most celebrated speeches, exposed, with the clearness of sunlight, the absurdity of their schemes. He proved beyond the possibility of dispute that the freedom they upheld would bring us at once to the basest and most abject dependence upon foreign nations. Our duties once thrown off, and their products admitted free, we should be instantly at their mercy, and might be impoverished or starved at their discretion. Their policy, he made it perfectly evident, would lead directly to a British Colonial bondage; our country would speedily be drained of her gold and silver; her industry, in every department, would droop, and her high and increasing prosperity would at once be crushed to the earth. Anxious, however, to heal the dissensions which he feared would endanger, in all its branches, the glorious cause he had so long espoused, Mr. Clay directed his efforts to a reconciliation of the opposing factions, and while he maintained in all its integrity, his leading principle of protection and encouragement to American industry, he brought forward a proposition for the reduction of duties upon those articles which did not come into competition with those of American production, except those upon luxuries, such as wines and silks. The Committee on Manufactures, through Hon. Mahlon Dickerson, their Chairman, accordingly, on the 13th of March, reported a bill moulded by these suggestions, repealing the duties on certain specified articles, but maintaining inviolate the protective features of the existing Tariff. This bill, however, did little to allay the feverish discontent of the south. The sectional prejudices of that portion of the country, which are far stronger and more unscrupulous than those of any other part of the Union, were thoroughly aroused, and nothing that a desire for peace and reconciliation could accomplish effected any thing towards their removal. Their strength may be inferred from the fact that they had seduced from all his former principles and professions one of the greatest and most powerful men in the Union; and John C. Calhoun, who had been among the earliest and most ardent friends of a Protective Tariff in 1816, was now found foremost among those rash spirits who declared that the laws of the Union, and the Union itself, should be destroyed before the established Tariff should be binding upon the south. The excitement on the subject was becoming fiercely intense. The ground was taken by a State Convention in South Carolina, held November 24, 1832, that the state had a right to nullify, at her discretion, any law of Congress; and the Legislature immediately after ratified the proceedings of the Convention, echoed the destructive sentiment, and declared that the whole military power of the state should sustain and enforce it against the forces of the Federal Government. Measures

were taken to carry this into effect. President Jackson, though his administration was hostile to the principle of protection, issued his Proclamation enjoining obedience to the laws of the land, and denouncing armed opposition to them as treason to the Government; and this was answered by a counter Proclamation from Gov. Hayne, of South Carolina. Thus the matter stood at the beginning of the session of 1833. The preservation of the principle of protection, in opposition alike to the insidious but determined hostility of the President and his friends, and to the alarming attitude of South Carolina, became at once the great business of the session. The nullification party in Congress, of course, as such, had little strength; and a bill was reported by the Judiciary Committee to enforce the collection of the revenue. The aspect of affairs was now, in the highest degree, serious and alarming. Civil war with all its horrors seemed impending and about to burst. South Carolina, though not formidable by her own power, was so closely linked with the other southern states, that war with her would, beyond doubt, soon become a war between the north and the south; the beautiful fields of our happy country must be drenched with the best blood of her sons; distress and agony, beyond estimate, must brood over us for years; and if the Federal Union should finally be preserved, which was an issue scarcely to be expected, a dark blot, never to be effaced, must have rested upon our history forever. All these considerations presented themselves with terrible force to the mind of Mr. Clay. He saw, too, that in the threatened event of a bloody struggle, final peace could scarcely be hoped without yielding forever the great principle of protection, on which, in his view, was to be based all the national prosperity and happiness for which America could ever hope. He addressed himself to the averting of the overwhelming calamities which now hung over his beloved country. His noble heart throbbed with the highest love for every portion of the Union. Sectional partiality, and that narrow, illiberal patriotism which bounds its sympathies and exertions by the limits of a state, found no place within his breast. The American Union was his country; he respected the rights, honored the chivalry, and was as tender of the lives and interests of the people of South Carolina as of those of his own noble Kentucky. He gave to the crisis his most attentive thought. He consulted with his friends, and invited the counsel of those best acquainted with all the several interests of the nation. After the most deliberate study, and as the result of the most careful consideration, he brought forward, as best adapted to the existing state of the country, his celebrated Compromise Bill, settling the policy of the nation, on the subject of the Tariff, upon a conciliatory and mutually acceptable basis, until the 30th of June, 1842, when the whole subject would again become open for reconsideration, and when he firmly believed the increased intelligence and experience of the country would have removed all effective opposition to the principles of protection to American industry and complete independence of all foreign powers. By the provisions of the act, the rate of duties was to undergo a gradual reduction up to the time of its limitation, when 20 per cent, at a home valuation, was to be its lowest point; and then it was to be left to such legislation as the condition of the country, the state of her finances, and the necessities of her industry might demand, and the increased intelligence of the people might justify. At the time the act was devised, measures had been commenced by the administration party to ensure a total abolition of all protective duties, and a resort to the policy of what was called free trade. The Compromise Act, in Mr. Clay's opinion, would avert this danger from his cherished system, and would lead the public mind to more considerate and better grounded opinions upon this vitally important subject. With these views, and actuated by as true and self-denying patriotism as ever moved the heart of any statesman of any age, Mr. Clay introduced his Compromise Bill, and upheld it by the ablest and most eloquent efforts. It was accepted by the southern members in Congress, became a law, and swept at once from the political sky of our country that black cloud of lowering war which had hidden the brightness of its morning star. The storm of more than Apocalyptic horror which was about to burst upon the land, rolled away in silence, and again the sun of peace, with its gleamings of glory and hope, shod upon the nation its brightest effulgence. The joy which the adoption of this celebrated act spread over the land was general, and of thrilling intensity. From one extremity to the other, the name of Henry Clay was uttered, in connection with it, with the highest honor national gratitude could bestow. The measure of his glory, for this act of his life, is not yet full, for the secret history of that act has not been written. When it shall be given to the world, by the hand of some man who mingled in its scenes, then will shine forth from the part sustained by Mr. Clay, a sacrifice of personal feeling, a zeal for the best good of the nation, a love of

country, and a high devotion to her cause, which, for sublimity of worth, will match the proudest achievements of ancient or of modern times. It called forth the warmest eulogies of men of all parties, and from every section of the country. For years since it has been a standing theme for eloquent applause; and at the present time it will not be regarded, as in other circumstances it might, as a fact of no significance, that so late as in 1839, John Tyler, then a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, spoke of it in the following emphatic terms: "It rarely happens," said he, "to the most gifted and talented, and patriotic, to record their names upon the page of history in characters indelible and enduring. But if to have rescued his country from civil war—if to have preserved the Constitution and the Union from hazard and total wreck; constitute any ground for an immortal and undying name among men, then do I believe that Henry Clay has won for himself that high renown." The feelings of gratitude entertained by the whole eastern portion of the Union for his services, were fully proved by the demonstrations of popular respect and love which marked every step of a visit he paid, in the autumn of 1833, to the eastern states. The time to which, by its own provisions, the operation of this celebrated act was limited, has now expired; and though the struggle which, even on its first proposal, he saw must attend the revision of the Tariff, upon the expiration of the act, has been rendered fiercer by accidental circumstances than he hoped, the sense of gratitude for his services has not been cooled one jot by subsequent occurrences. In 1832, towards the close of the session, Mr. Clay, being a candidate for the Presidency at the next election, surprised his enemies, but completely fulfilled the expectation of his friends, who knew his unselfish nature and his uncompromising love of justice and of right, by reporting a bill—referred to an appropriate committee of which he was chairman—for the express purpose of setting a trap to "catch his conscience," providing for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands to the several states of the Union. That a candidate for the Presidency should not, when so tempting an opportunity was offered, secure to himself the votes of the western states by advocating the cession to them of the public domain within their borders, was an act of voluntary virtue, of which they certainly had never been guilty, and of which they could by no means conceive the possibility. But they were disappointed. The bill was reported by Mr. Clay, and supported in a speech of surpassing power. It passed the Senate, but was postponed in the House. At the next session, however, it had become so popular throughout the country, that it was taken up again and passed by an overwhelming majority. It was sent to the President for his approval. He dared not veto it, for then it would have gone back, and, beyond all question, have become a law by a two-thirds vote. The adjournment of Congress within the ten days, during which its detention was allowed, gave an opportunity for its destruction too favorable to be neglected. And thus it was lost. In his message of December 4th, 1832, President Jackson had recommended the measure; and there is every reason to believe that if any other man than Henry Clay, his rival for the Presidency, had secured the glory of its passage, it would have been signed without scruple or hesitation. The question of the currency now began to excite the deepest interest. As early as 1829, Gen. Jackson had made suggestions, vague and indefinite, though, concerning the improvement of the currency; and in the year 1832 he vetoed the bill for a recharter of the bank of the United States. The doctrines of that veto had encountered Mr. Clay's warmest condemnation, for he saw involved in them principles that must inevitably, if carried to their ultimate results, establish a power higher than that of the people, and convert our republic into a monarchy of the most tyrannical character. In the prosecution of his scheme of destroying the bank, in the session of 1833, the President suggested that the United States deposits in the bank were unsafe. The House of Representatives examined the subject, and resolved that they were safe. Thus thwarted, the President determined to remove them on his own responsibility; and after ejecting from office two secretaries of the treasury, before he could find a tool sufficiently pliable for his purposes, through Mr. Taney he finally succeeded, and ordered the public moneys to be removed from the United States bank, the depository selected by Congress, and to be distributed among the banking institutions of the several states. Circulars were at the same time addressed to these banks, directing them to use the money, thus deposited with them, for the stimulating of business, and to loan it out to the people as they might desire. The arbitrary power thus assumed and exercised by the President, created the most anxious alarm in Congress. It was a stride towards tyranny of the most dangerous portion, and on the 26th of December, 1833, Mr. Clay introduced resolutions censuring the President for his removal of Secretary Doane,

because he would not do the unlawful bidding, and condemning Mr. Taney for his removal of the deposits. He supported them with an eloquence and a power seldom exhibited in the council chambers of any nation. The fundamental principles of our Government were lucidly discussed, and their palpable violation by Gen. Jackson was most clearly shown. He pointed out the dangerous tendency of these encroachments on the public liberty, and called upon the representatives of a free people to crush this attempt to defraud them of their rights, and to set at defiance their will on subjects of the highest national interest. The resolutions were adopted by a vote of 26 to 20. President Jackson immediately sent in a protest, declaring that he was responsible for the acts of all his secretaries, that Congress had no right to take from him the control of the public moneys, and that he was to be bound in his administration of the government by his own understanding of the constitution. After a long and most animated debate, in which Mr. Clay made another most powerful speech in reprobation and utter reprobation of the novel and alarming doctrines put forth by the President, resolutions were adopted, declaring that the President had no right to protest against the proceedings of either house of Congress, and excluding his protest from the journals of the Senate. It is worthy of remark that among the names of the large majority by whom these resolutions were adopted, is that of John Tyler. On the 18th of May, 1834, Mr. Clay introduced resolutions reasserting his often-repeated opinions concerning Executive usurpation, and the general policy of the high-handed and dangerous measures of President Jackson, and providing for the restoration to the bank of the United States of the public moneys, then scattered, by command of the President, throughout the several states. They were adopted in the Senate, but never acted upon in the House. The session of 1833—34 was distinguished by the ability and earnestness with which the usurpations of the President were discussed and condemned; and in all the debates, clear, loud, and powerful, above all the rest, was heard the denunciation of Henry Clay. At the next session, the most important feature was the discussion and settlement of our French relations. That nation had failed to fulfil a treaty stipulation for the payment of claims of our citizens for losses sustained by aggressions upon our commerce; and President Jackson, with blame-worthy rashness, had recommended in his message measures of immediate hostility. That portion of the message was referred to a committee, on whose behalf Mr. Clay reported a resolution declaring it inexpedient to adopt any legislative measures in regard to the Executive recommendations. It was supported in a long report of unequalled force of argument, and was perfectly satisfactory to men of every party in the Senate, who vied with each other in the warmth of their admiration of its temper and ability. The resolution was unanimously adopted, and in the early part of the succeeding year the difficulties were amicably adjusted. On the 14th of April, 1836, Mr. Clay again brought his bill for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands before the Senate. It was ably discussed for more than two weeks, and passed that body by a vote of 25 to 20. In the House, however, it failed, as was foreseen, through the influence of the President. At the same session Mr. Clay brought forward some powerful arguments in defence of the right of petition, the acknowledgment of Texan independence, and upon various questions of local or temporary interest which came before the honorable body of which he was so able and distinguished a member.

SPITTING THE DIFFERENCE.

A nice young gentleman not a thousand miles from this, after a long and assiduous courtship, found himself, one bright evening, the betrothed of a pretty girl, the very pink of modesty. One night he was about to take his departure, and after lingering about the door for some time, in a fidget of anxiety, declared and protested to Miss Nancy, that he couldn't and wouldn't leave until she had kissed him. Of course Miss Nancy blushed beautifully red, and protested in return, that she could not and would not do that. She never had done such a thing, and never would until she was married—so now he had it.—The altercation and debate now became deep and exciting, until the betrothed buffed off-right, and declared that if he couldn't kiss her he wouldn't have her—and was marching off. She watched him to the gate, and saw the "fat was in the fire," unless something was done. "Come back, then," said she coaxingly, "I'll split the difference with you—you may squeeze my hand!"—*Sand. Telescope.* THIS RICH AND THE POOR.—There are two classes of people to whom life seems one long holiday, the very rich and the very poor, one because they need do nothing, the other because they have nothing to do.

MISCELLANEOUS. To Mothers. Habit—our Daughters—the Elders—Domesticity—Gratitude—Filial Love—Filial Gratitude. We all acknowledge the strength of habit. Its power increases with time. In youth, it may seem to us like the filmy line of the spider; in age, like the fly caught in toils, we struggle in vain. "Habit, if not resisted," says St. Augustine, "becomes necessity." The physical force of habit is thus clearly illustrated by Dr. Combe:—"A tendency to resume the same mode of action at stated times, is peculiarly the characteristic of the nervous system; and on this account, regularity is of great consequence in exercising the moral and intellectual power. All nervous diseases have a marked tendency to observe regular periods, and the natural inclination to sleep at the approach of night, is another instance of the same fact. It is this principle of our nature which promotes the formation of what are called habits. If we repeat any kind of mental effort every day at the same hour, we at last find ourselves entering upon it without premeditation, when the time approaches." The department of the older children of the family, is of great importance to the younger. Their obedience or insubordination, operates throughout the whole circle. Especially is the station of the eldest daughter one of eminence. She drank the first draught of the mother's love. She usually enjoys much of her counsel and companionship. In her absence she is the natural vicerey. Let the mother take double pains to form her to a correct model; to make her amiable, diligent, domestic, pious, trusting that the image of those virtues may leave impressions on the soft, waxen hearts of the younger ones, to whom she may, in the providence of God, be called to fill the place of maternal guide. Children should be required to treat domestics with propriety. Those, on whom the comfort of a family so essentially depends, are entitled to kindness and sympathy. The theory that industry and good conduct are worthy of respect, in whatever rank they are found, cannot be too early illustrated and enforced on the members of a household. Be careful to teach your children gratitude. Lead them to acknowledge every favor that they receive, to speak of their benefactors, and to remember them in their prayers. Accustom them to distinguish with a marked regard, their instructors, and those who have aided them in the attainment of goodness or piety. It is an interesting circumstance in the life of Ann, Countess of Pembroke, who was distinguished, more than two centuries since, by her learning, her decision of character, the languages she acquired, and the honors she enjoyed, that she erected a monument to the memory of her tutor, and always spoke of him with the most affectionate veneration, as her guide to the rudiments of knowledge. Filial love should be cherished. It has, especially, a softening and ennobling effect on the masculine heart. It has been remarked that almost all illustrious men have been distinguished by love for their mother. It is mentioned by Miss Pardoe, that a "beautiful feature in the character of the Turks, is reverence for their mother. Their wives may advise or reprimand, unheeded, but their mother is an oracle, consulted, confided in, listened to with respect and deference, honored to the latest hour, and remembered with affection and regret even beyond the grave." "Wives may die," say they, "and we can replace them; children may perish, and others may be born to us, but who can restore the mother when she has passed away, and is seen no more?" Gratitude is a principal ingredient in filial affection. It often reveals itself in a most striking manner, when parents moulder in the dust. It induces obedience to their precepts and tender love for their memory. A little boy was once passing the ornamental garden of a rich man. He was observed to look earnestly and wishfully at some sprouts, that were germinating on the trunk of an old poplar. On being asked what he wanted, he said, "My mother loved flowers, and every green, living thing. She has been dead two years, yet I have never planted one where she sleeps. I often wish to. I was just thinking how pretty one of these would look there." The gentleman kindly gave him a rose-bud, and the fresh wand of a weeping willow. Then the poor little fellow lifted up his streaming eyes, and gave thanks in a broken voice for himself, and for his dear dead mother.—*Mrs. Sigourney.* The Stream of Life. The following beautiful and impressive illustration of life is from the celebrated Bishop Heber's farewell sermon, delivered many years since, upon the eve of his departure for India, to his parishioners at Hodnet, in England:—"Life bears us on like the stream of a mighty river. Our boat, at first, glides sweetly down the narrow channel through the playful murmurings of the little brook, and winding off its grassy borders. The trees shed their blossoms over our young heads;

and the flowers on the bank seem to offer themselves to our young heads; we are in hope, and we grasp eagerly at the beauties around us; but the stream hurries us on, and still our hands are empty. "Our course in youth and manhood is along a wilder and deeper flood, and amid objects more striking and magnificent. We are animated by the moving picture of enjoyment and industry passing before us, we are excited by short lived success, or depressed and rendered miserable by some short lived disappointment. But our energy and our dependence are both in vain. The stream bears us on, and our joys and griefs are left behind us; we may be shipwrecked but cannot anchor; our voyage may be hastened but cannot be delayed; whether rough or smooth the river hastens towards its home—the roaring of the waves is beneath our keel, and the land leans from our eyes, the floods are lifted up around us, and we take our leave of earth and its inhabitants, and of our further voyage there is no witness but the Infinite and Eternal. "And do we still take so much thought for future days, when the days which have gone by have so strongly and uniformly deceived us? Can we still so set our heart upon the creatures of God, when we find, by a sad experience, that the Creator only is permanent? Or shall we not rather lay aside every sin which does most easily beset us, and think of ourselves henceforth as wayfaring persons only, who have no abiding inheritance but in the hope of a better world, and to whom even the world would be worse than hopeless, if it were not for our Lord Jesus Christ, and the interest which we have obtained in his mercies?" The Gentleman. True gentlemen are to be found in every grade of society. The ploughman, with his broad sun-burnt hand, his homely dress, and his open honest countenance, is oftener found to be possessed of the real attributes of a gentleman, than the enervated man milliner, who is much more careful of his gloves than his honor—whose shirt bosom must be pure as a virgin's fame—and who, if one curl of his glossy hair were displaced would be thrown immediately into strong convulsions. The blood which flows in a rich and generous stream through the heart of a Russian serf, is as pure in the eyes of God as the life current which eddies round the princely fountain of the highest English noblemen. It is a false, illiberal idea, that because a man cannot claim alliance with the proud and wealthy, his name should be stricken from the list of gentlemen. We are all created alike; our mothers suffer the same pangs—and shall the one who ushered into life on a silken couch, spare him whose limbs were first laid upon a cross of straw? Which class from time immemorial, has shed honor and glory on earth—the gentleman of fashion or the gentleman of nature? Whose voice is most heard, and has most effect throughout the world? Why, those of men born in poverty, but clothed by truth with the jewelled robe of honor. Does the mere fact of a man's being able to make a bow with a scrupulous exactness constitute him a gentleman? Shall the children of one mother be divided, because one is gifted with gracefulness of action and comeliness of demeanor, while the others will not stoop to cringe at flattery's fawn, or waste the hours given them by heaven, to improve, in the useless study of the puerile forms of fashion? Oh! how glad it makes one's heart to see these "painted lizards" shrinking from the approach of the gentleman of nature, and fearing that they may be called upon to acknowledge their inferiority? Who is the gentleman? he who can boast of nothing but a name, upon which dishonor has never thrown its leprous poison. He who can lie down on his pillow at night, knowing that he has done his neighbor no injury; whose heart is never closed to pity the injuries of the oppressed; who smiles not at misfortune, and who mocks not the affliction of his fellows. He who looks upon all men as equals and who fears not to stand in the presence of a king. The man who is guided by moral honor, and not obliged to have laws made for his observance. He who has true democracy in his soul; who desires and gives to every man the enjoyment of his opinion, provided they do not infringe the decrees of justice in its most rigid sense. Such a man, and only such a one, should dare lay claim to the proud appellation of "gentleman."—Thank God! we are in a country where the field of honor and renown is open to all.—The lowest freeman in the land is, in part, the governor of its proudest officer. He who tills the earth, walks erect in the proud dignity of nature's right; knowing that he cannot be oppressed, while he respects himself. There is no distinction of classes here—the blacksmith and the senator—the shoemaker and the President—all hail each other as "gentlemen."—*N. O. Crescent.* SINGULAR PARALYSIS.—At Cincinnati, a few days since, a stranger deliberately walked over the side of the Steamboat Sunflower. A watchman of the vessel went to his assistance and also stepped accidentally off. Both were drowned.